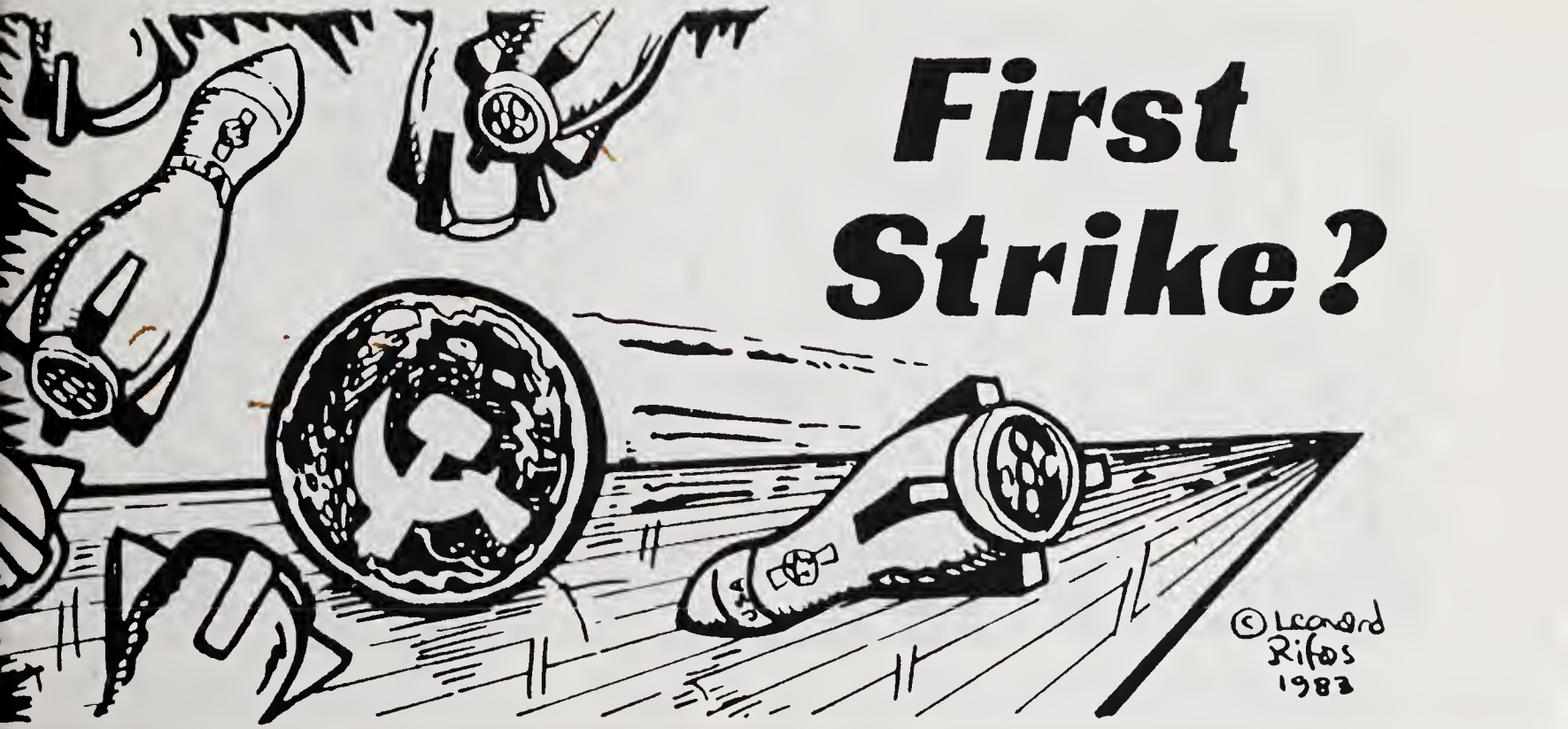
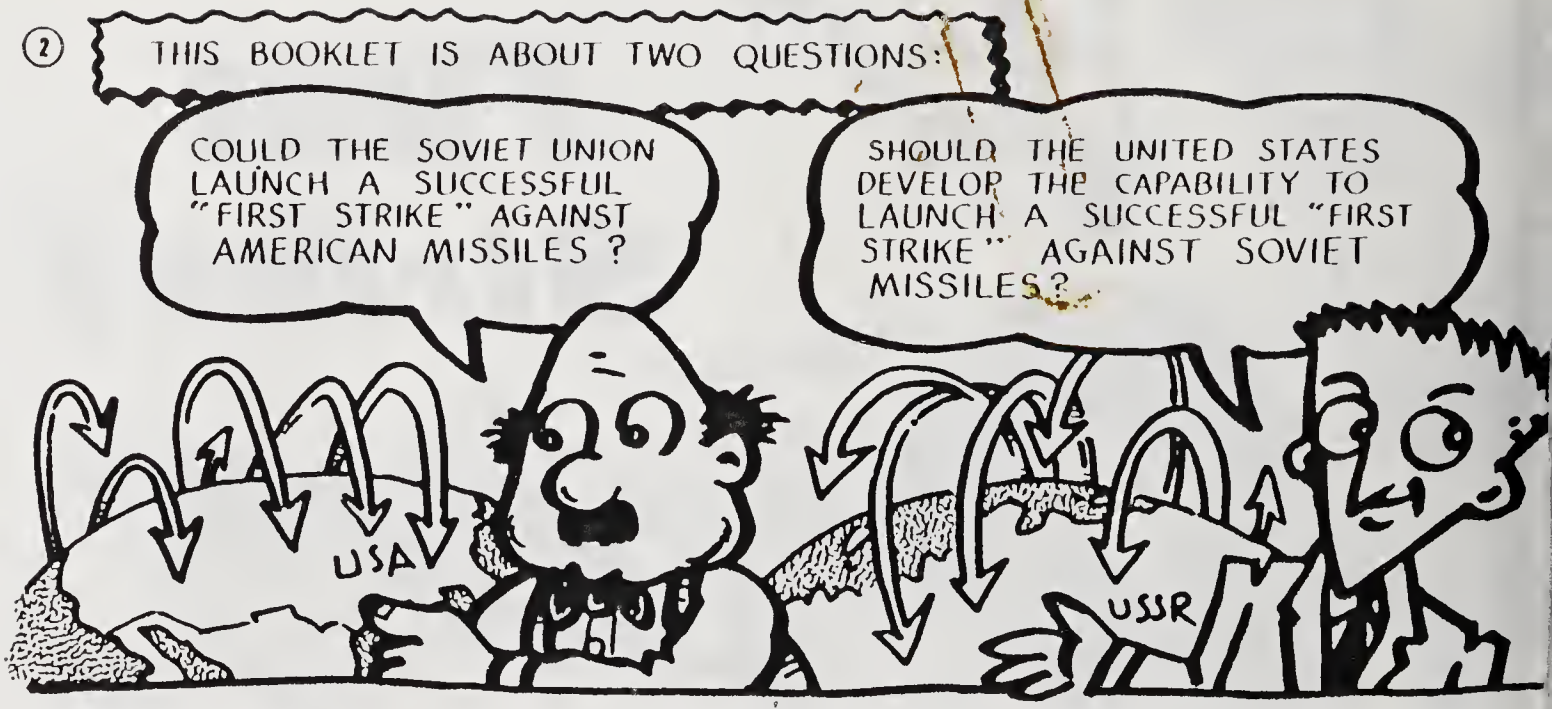

First
Strike?
©Leonard
Rifas
1983

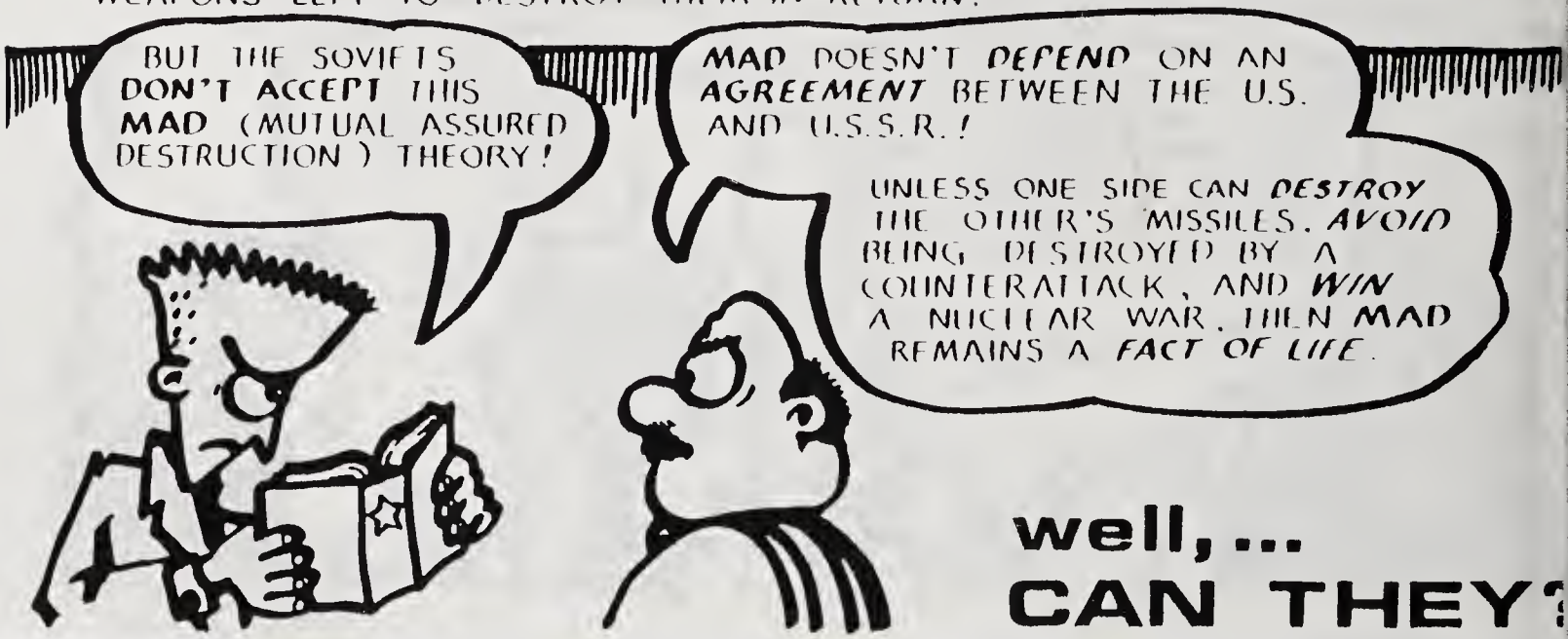

THIS BOOKLET IS ABOUT TWO QUESTIONS:
COULD THE SOVIET UNION LAUNCH A SUCCESSFUL "FIRST STRIKE" AGAINST AMERICAN MISSILES ?
SHOULD THE UNITED STATES DEVELOP THE CAPABILITY TO LAUNCH A SUCCESSFUL "FIRST STRIKE" AGAINST SOVIET MISSILES?
USA
USSR

FIRST STRIKE (fûrst strīk) 1. THE FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A NUCLEAR WAR. 2. AN ATTACK ON A RIVAL NATION'S ENTIRE FORCE OF LONG-RANGE WEAPONS THAT LEAVES THEM UNABLE TO COUNTERATTACK

THE *NIGHTMARE* OF A SOVIET FIRST STRIKE IS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL SOON HAVE MISSILES THAT ARE ACCURATE ENOUGH TO *ATTACK AMERICA'S LAND-BASED MISSILES* IN THEIR SILOS. AFTER DESTROYING THEM, THE SOVIET PREMIER COULD THREATEN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

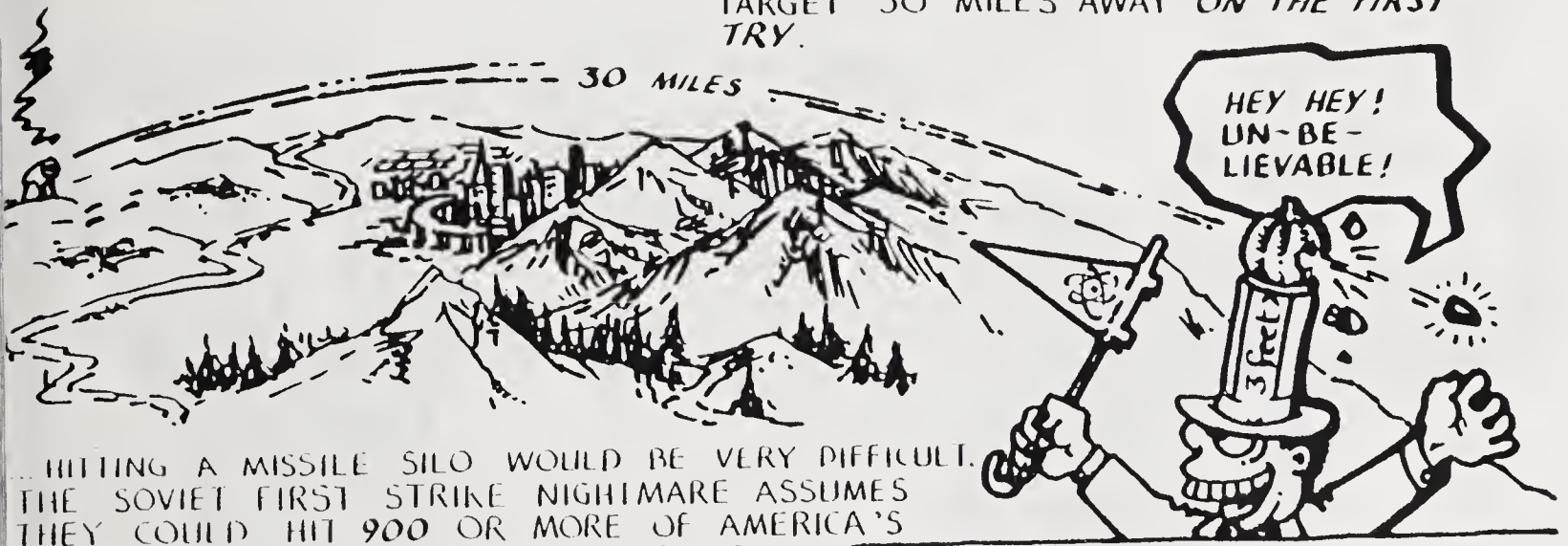
LET US DO WHATEVER WE WANT IN EUROPE, THE PERSIAN GULF AND JAPAN, OR WE'LL LAUNCH A *SECOND* STRIKE AND KILL 80-100 MILLION PEOPLE IN AMERICAN CITIES!
YOU LEAVE ME LITTLE CHOICE! HAVE A GOOD TIME.

④ THE THEORY OF MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION IS THAT NEITHER "SUPERPOWER" CAN LAUNCH A NUCLEAR ATTACK ON THE OTHER ONE, BECAUSE IF THEY DID, THE OTHER SIDE WOULD HAVE ENOUGH WEAPONS LEFT TO DESTROY THEM IN RETURN.


BUT THE SOVIETS DON'T ACCEPT THIS MAD (MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION) THEORY!
MAD DOESN'T DEPEND ON AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND U.S.S.R.!
UNLESS ONE SIDE CAN DESTROY THE OTHER'S MISSILES, AVOID BEING DESTROYED BY A COUNTERATTACK, AND WIN A NUCLEAR WAR, THEN MAD REMAINS A FACT OF LIFE.
well,... CAN THEY?

CAN THE SOVIET UNION DESTROY AMERICAN MISSILES?

TO DESTROY AN ENEMY LAND-BASED MISSILE SILO, AN *ICBM** WOULD HAVE TO BE AS ACCURATE AS A CANNON THAT HITS WITHIN ONE YARD OF A SMALL TARGET 30 MILES AWAY *ON THE FIRST TRY*.



...HITTING A MISSILE SILO WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. THE SOVIET FIRST STRIKE NIGHTMARE ASSUMES THEY COULD HIT *900* OR MORE OF AMERICA'S *1,054* LAND BASED MISSILE SILOS *AT THE SAME TIME!*

*INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE

6
NO MATTER *HOW* ACCURATE THEIR MISSILES MAY BE, *NEITHER* SIDE CAN EVER BE *CERTAIN* THAT THEY COULD LAUNCH A SUCCESSFUL FIRST STRIKE WITHOUT *TRYING* IT.
IT WOULD BE TOO *RISKY* TO *TRY* A FIRST STRIKE. HOWEVER, UNLESS IT WERE ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN TO SUCCEED.
THIS DARNED *UNCERTAINTY* IS *PARALYZING* ME!
USA
CCCP

CAN THE SOVIET UNION AVOID BEING DESTROYED AFTER LAUNCHING A NUCLEAR ATTACK?

IN THE 1960's, THE U.S. PREDICTED THAT SOMEDAY ITS LAND-BASED MISSILES *MIGHT* BECOME VULNERABLE, SO IT DEVELOPED *SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED MISSILES.* EVEN IF THE SOVIETS *COULD* DESTROY THE LAND-BASED MISSILES, THEY *CAN NOT* DETECT OR DESTROY AMERICAN SUBMARINES AT SEA.

AN AMERICAN *TRIDENT* SUBMARINE COMMANDER CONTROLS AS MUCH DESTRUCTIVE POWER AS THE MILITARIES OF BRITAIN, ITALY, SPAIN, BRAZIL, ARGENTINA, WEST GERMANY, JAPAN, THE PHILIPPINES, INDIA AND PAKISTAN *ALL PUT TOGETHER!*

IF THE SOVIET UNION LAUNCHED A NUCLEAR ATTACK, THE U.S. WOULD HAVE THE POWER TO DESTROY THEM IN RETURN.

8

CAN THE SOVIET UNION WIN A NUCLEAR WAR?

IF THE SOVIETS ATTACKED AMERICAN MISSILES, THE PRESIDENT MIGHT CHOOSE TO *SURRENDER* IF HIS ONLY OTHER OPTION WAS TO *ESCALATE* TO AN ATTACK ON SOVIET CITIES, TRIGGERING SOVIET *RETALIATION* WHICH WOULD KILL *AMERICAN CIVILIANS*.

LOOK! EVEN IF THE SOVIETS HIT AMERICAN LAND-BASED MISSILES WITH *PERFECT ACCURACY*, THAT WOULD KILL **2-20 MILLION** AMERICANS IMMEDIATELY AND MILLIONS MORE FROM *FALLOUT POISONING*.*

THE SOVIETS CAN'T RELY ON THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT TO REFRAIN FROM "ESCALATING" TO AN ATTACK ON SOVIET CIVILIANS UNDER THESE CONDITIONS.

IF THE PRESIDENT CHOOSES TO RETALIATE, THERE WOULD BE NO "WINNERS" IN A NUCLEAR WAR.

*BY COMPARISION, 200 YEARS OF PREVIOUS WARS HAVE KILLED *1.2 MILLION* AMERICANS.

SO THEN! A SOVIET FIRST STRIKE WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO KNOCK OUT AMERICAN LAND-BASED MISSILES...
... AND EVEN IF IT COULD, IT WOULD STILL LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION OPEN TO A COUNTERATTACK THAT WOULD DESTROY IT!
NEVERTHELESS, THIS IS THE FAR-FETCHED POSSIBILITY THAT IS BEING USED TO JUSTIFY IMPROVING U.S. CAPABILITIES TO DESTROY SOVIET MISSILES, SUBMARINES AND BOMBERS!
WELL, SURE! THERE ARE FIVE ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR OF AN AMERICAN FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY AGAINST SOVIET MISSILES...
5

ARGUMENT #1: IT INCREASES AMERICA'S OPTIONS.

IF THE SOVIETS ATTACK OUR LAND-BASED MISSILES, OUR *SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED* MISSILES ARE ONLY ACCURATE ENOUGH TO RETALIATE AGAINST *CITIES*.
THINK WHAT IT WOULD MEAN IF WE COULD RETALIATE AGAINST SOVIET *MISSILES*....

WITHOUT NEW WEAPONS

YOU'VE LOST YOUR **ICBMs**. SURRENDER NOW OR LOSE YOUR CITIES.

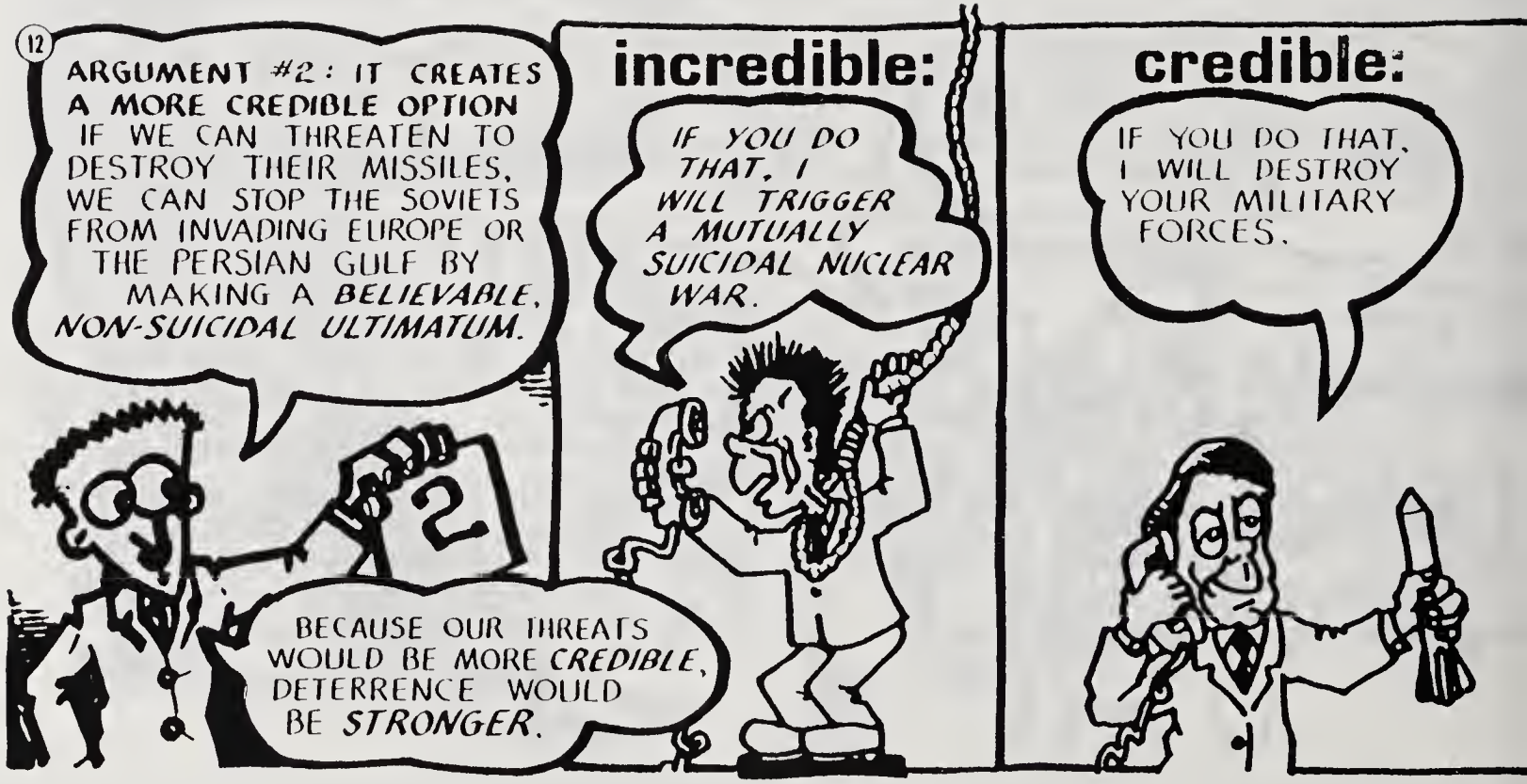
YOU LEAVE ME NO CHOICE BUT TO ESCALATE TO AN ATTACK ON *YOUR* CITIES, WHICH IS ABHORRENT TO AMERICA'S HUMANITARIAN PRINCIPLES!

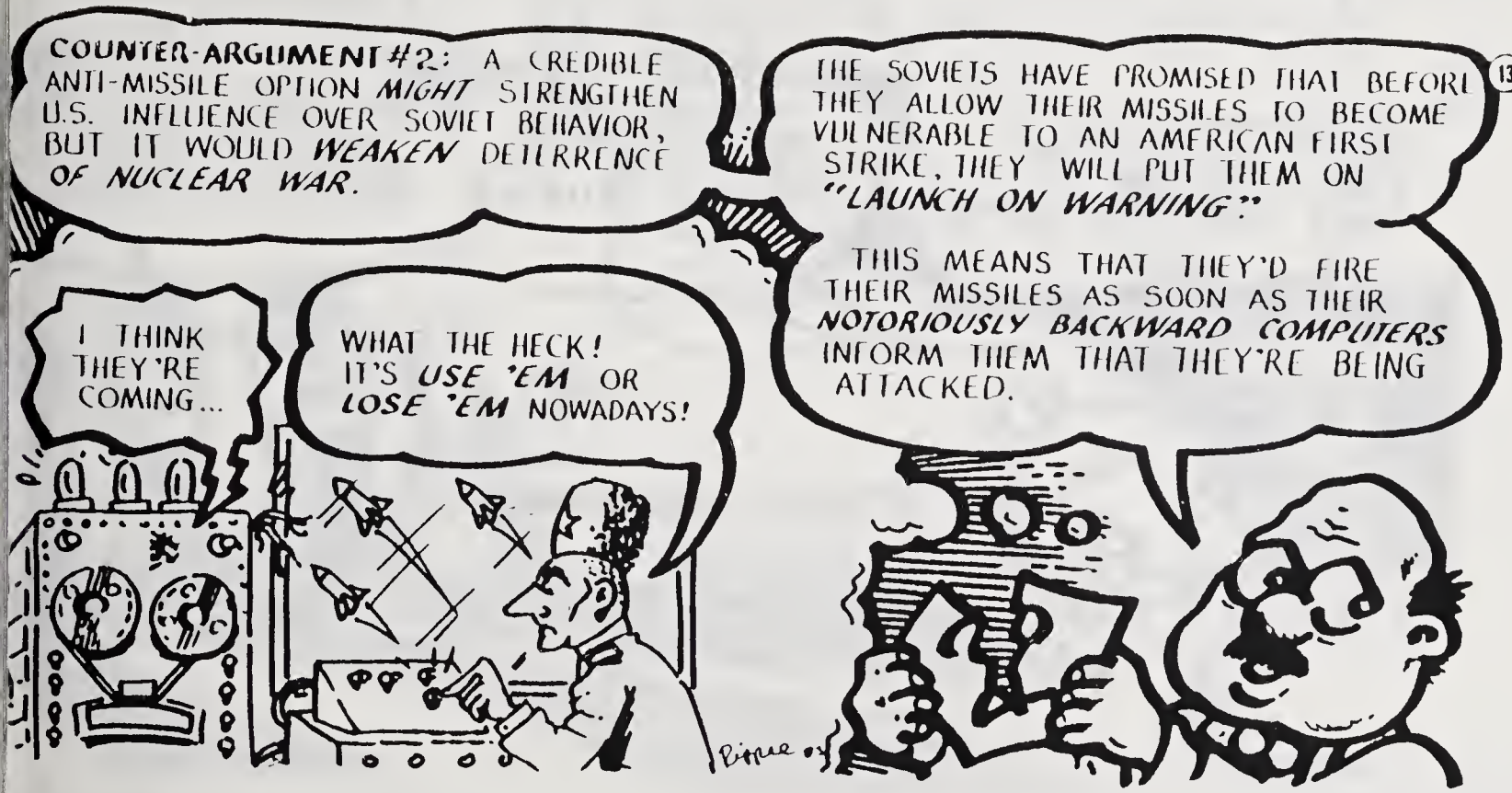
WITH NEW WEAPONS

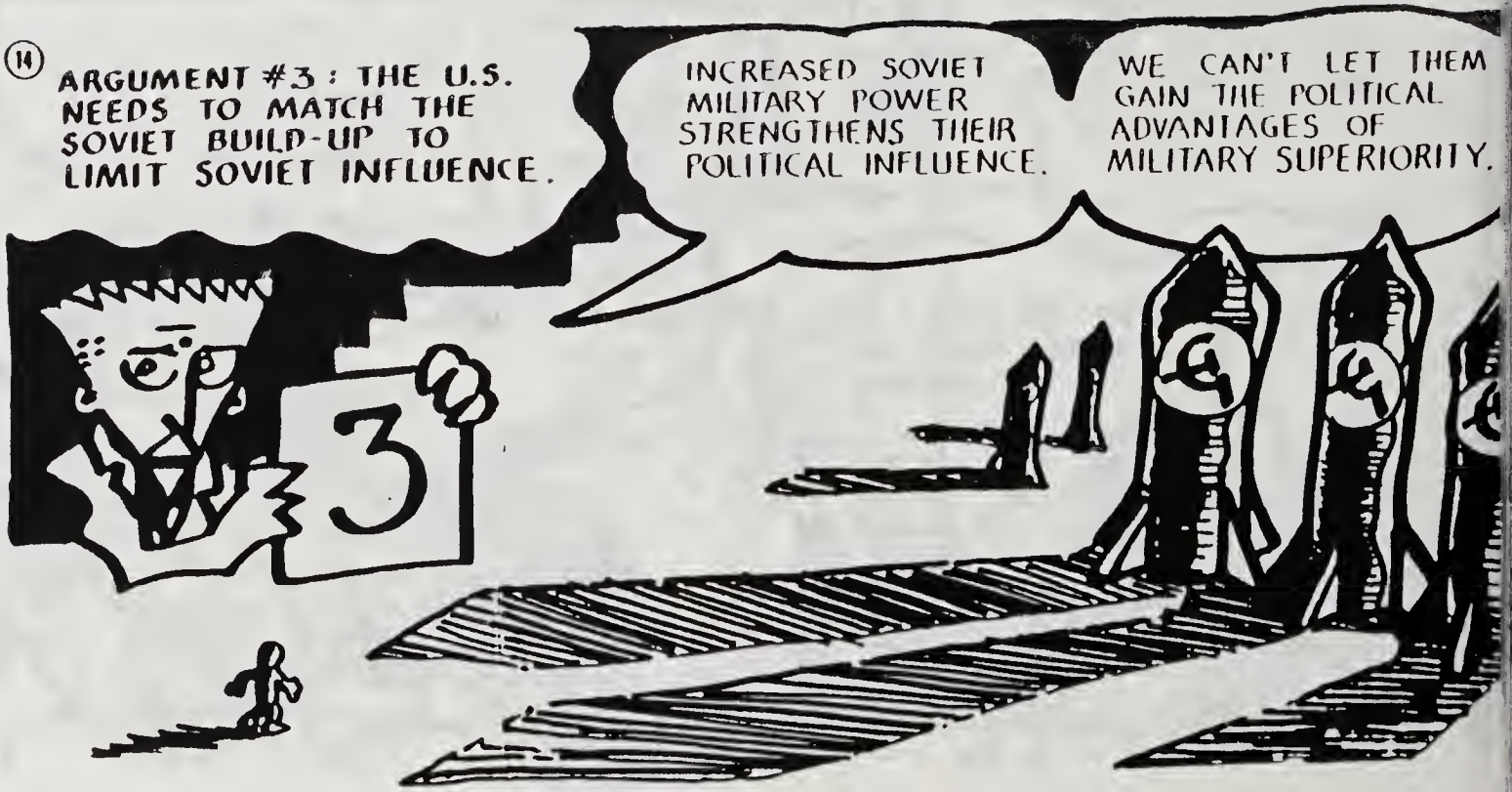
YOU'VE LOST SOME **ICBMs**. SURRENDER OR WE'LL ATTACK YOUR CITIES.

WE WILL RESPOND TO YOUR AGGRESSION WITH A SELECTIVE, CONTROLLED DELIBERATE ATTACK ON YOUR REMAINING MILITARY FORCES.

AN ANTI-MISSILE CAPABILITY WOULD INCREASE OPTIONS FOR MAKING **WAR**, BUT IT WOULD **REDUCE** OPTIONS FOR MAKING PEACE.
COUNTER-ARGUMENT #1
AMERICA DOESN'T **NEED** ANY MORE MILITARY OPTIONS TO PREPARE FOR A SOVIET NUCLEAR ATTACK.
SUCH AN ATTACK **ALREADY** MAKES NO SENSE AND EVEN IF IT **DID** HAPPEN, AMERICA COULD RETALIATE AGAINST SOVIET DAMS, POWER PLANTS, OIL REFINERIES AND MILITARY BASES.
PURSUING THIS **MILITARY** OPTION ELIMINATES THE **BETTER** OPTION OF NEGOTIATING AN IMMEDIATE, VERIFIABLE US-USSR HALT TO THE ARMS RACE.


12
ARGUMENT #2: IT CREATES A MORE CREDIBLE OPTION IF WE CAN THREATEN TO DESTROY THEIR MISSILES, WE CAN STOP THE SOVIETS FROM INVADING EUROPE OR THE PERSIAN GULF BY MAKING A BELIEVABLE, NON-SUICIDAL ULTIMATUM.
2
BECAUSE OUR THREATS WOULD BE MORE CREDIBLE, DETERRENCE WOULD BE STRONGER.
incredible:
IF YOU DO THAT, I WILL TRIGGER A MUTUALLY SUICIDAL NUCLEAR WAR.
credible:
IF YOU DO THAT, I WILL DESTROY YOUR MILITARY FORCES.


COUNTER-ARGUMENT #2: A CREDIBLE ANTI-MISSILE OPTION *MIGHT* STRENGTHEN U.S. INFLUENCE OVER SOVIET BEHAVIOR, BUT IT WOULD *WEAKEN* DETERRENCE OF *NUCLEAR WAR*.
THE SOVIETS HAVE PROMISED THAT BEFORE THEY ALLOW THEIR MISSILES TO BECOME VULNERABLE TO AN AMERICAN FIRST STRIKE, THEY WILL PUT THEM ON *"LAUNCH ON WARNING"*!
THIS MEANS THAT THEY'D FIRE THEIR MISSILES AS SOON AS THEIR *NOTORIOUSLY BACKWARD COMPUTERS* INFORM THEM THAT THEY'RE BEING ATTACKED.
I THINK THEY'RE COMING...
WHAT THE HECK! IT'S *USE 'EM* OR *LOSE 'EM* NOWADAYS!
13

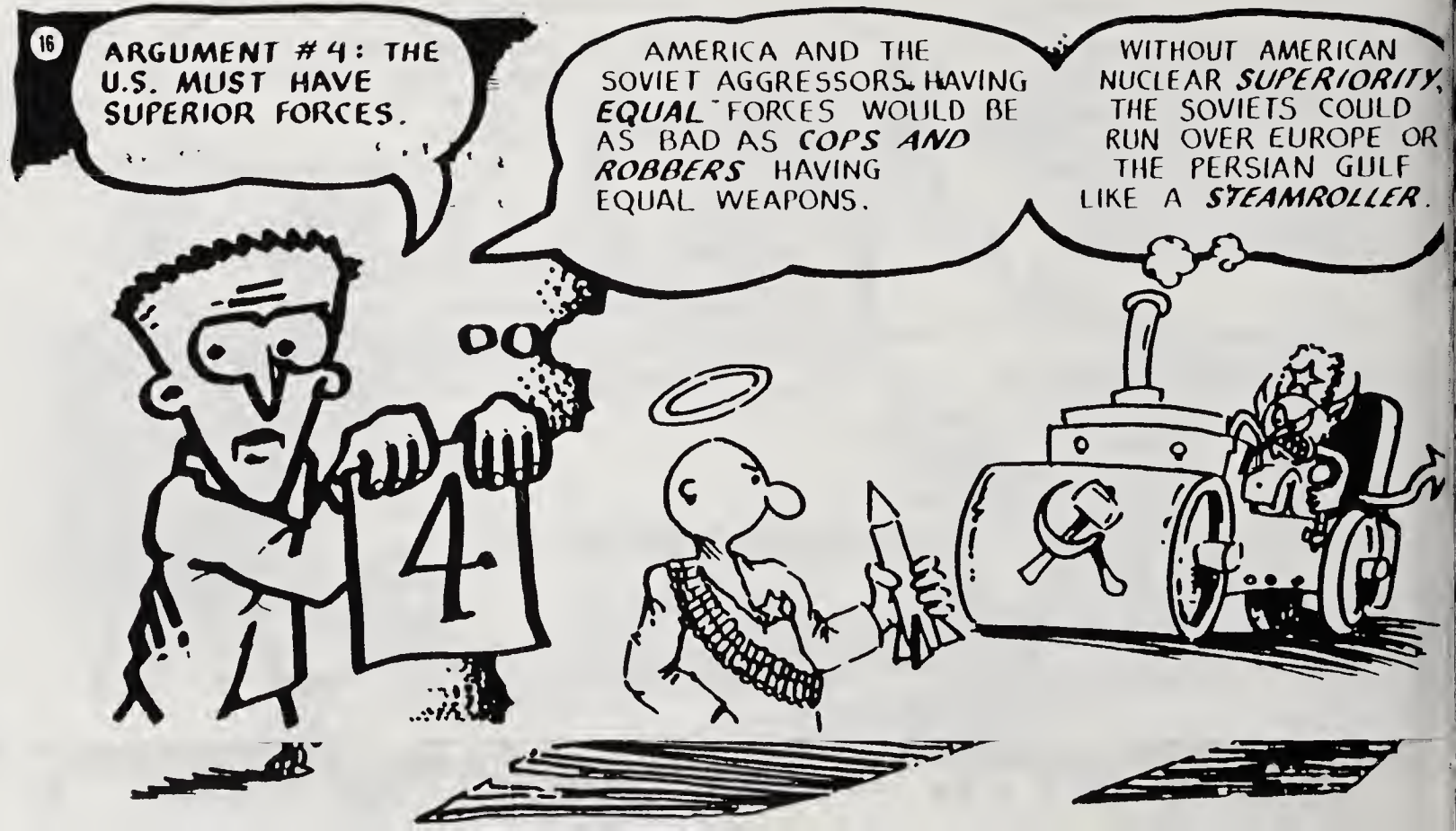

(14)
ARGUMENT #3 : THE U.S. NEEDS TO MATCH THE SOVIET BUILD-UP TO LIMIT SOVIET INFLUENCE.
INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY POWER STRENGTHENS THEIR POLITICAL INFLUENCE.
WE CAN'T LET THEM GAIN THE POLITICAL ADVANTAGES OF MILITARY SUPERIORITY.
3

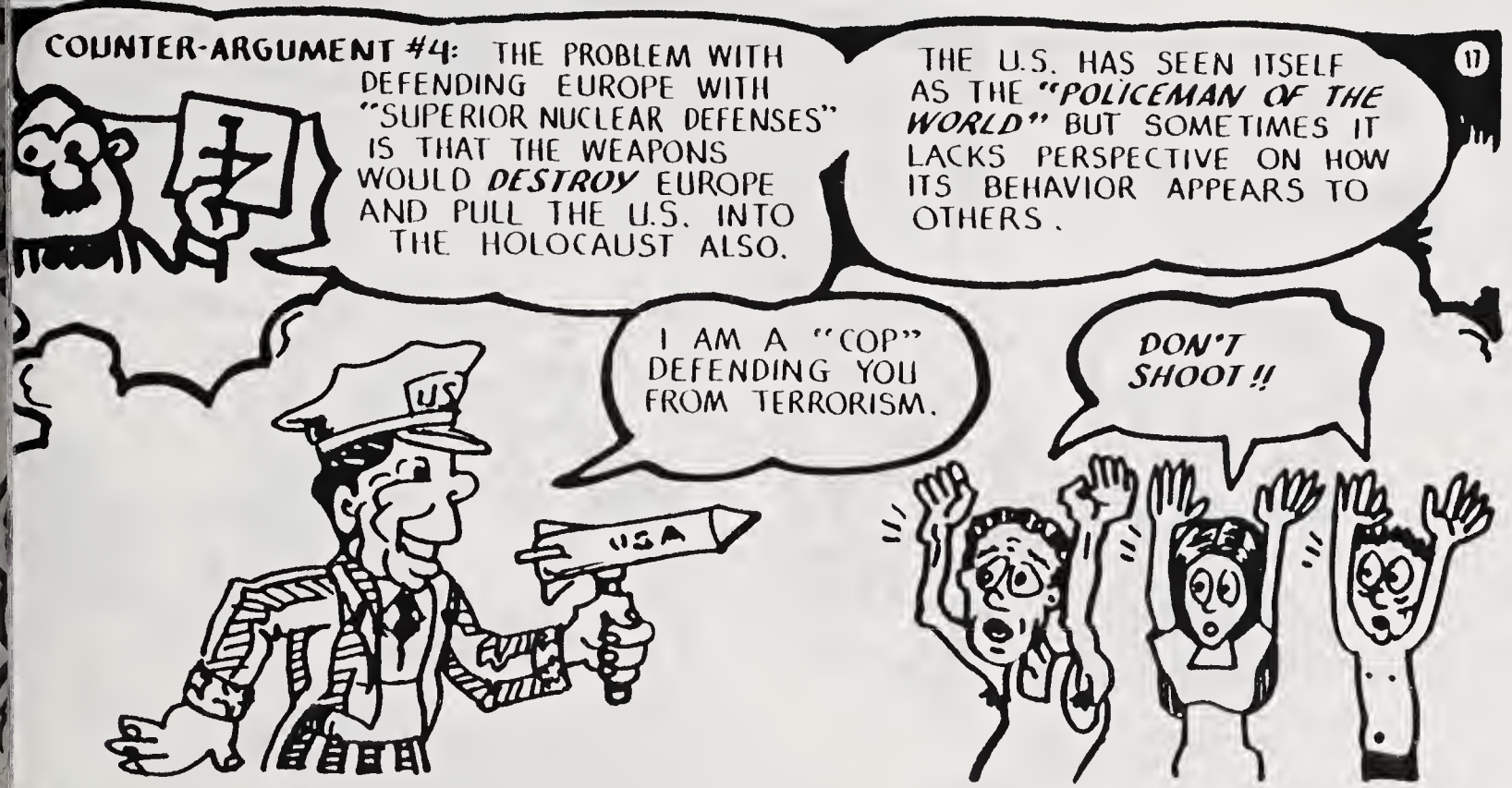
COUNTER-ARGUMENT #3: THE U.S. DOES *NOT* NEED TO RESPOND WITH ANOTHER NUCLEAR BUILD-UP BECAUSE THE U.S. *ALREADY* HAS A BETTER FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY THAN THE SOVIETS ARE BUILDING.

SOVIET POLITICAL INFLUENCE HAS BEEN *DECLINING*. THE SOVIETS HAVE SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCE IN ONLY 19 OF THE 161 COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD.

THE U.S. HAS *ALSO* BEEN LOSING INFLUENCE. U.S. EFFORTS TO PUT NEW MISSILES IN EUROPE ARE *DIRECTLY UNDERMINING* AMERICAN POLITICAL INFLUENCE THERE.

BALANCE of WORLD POWER

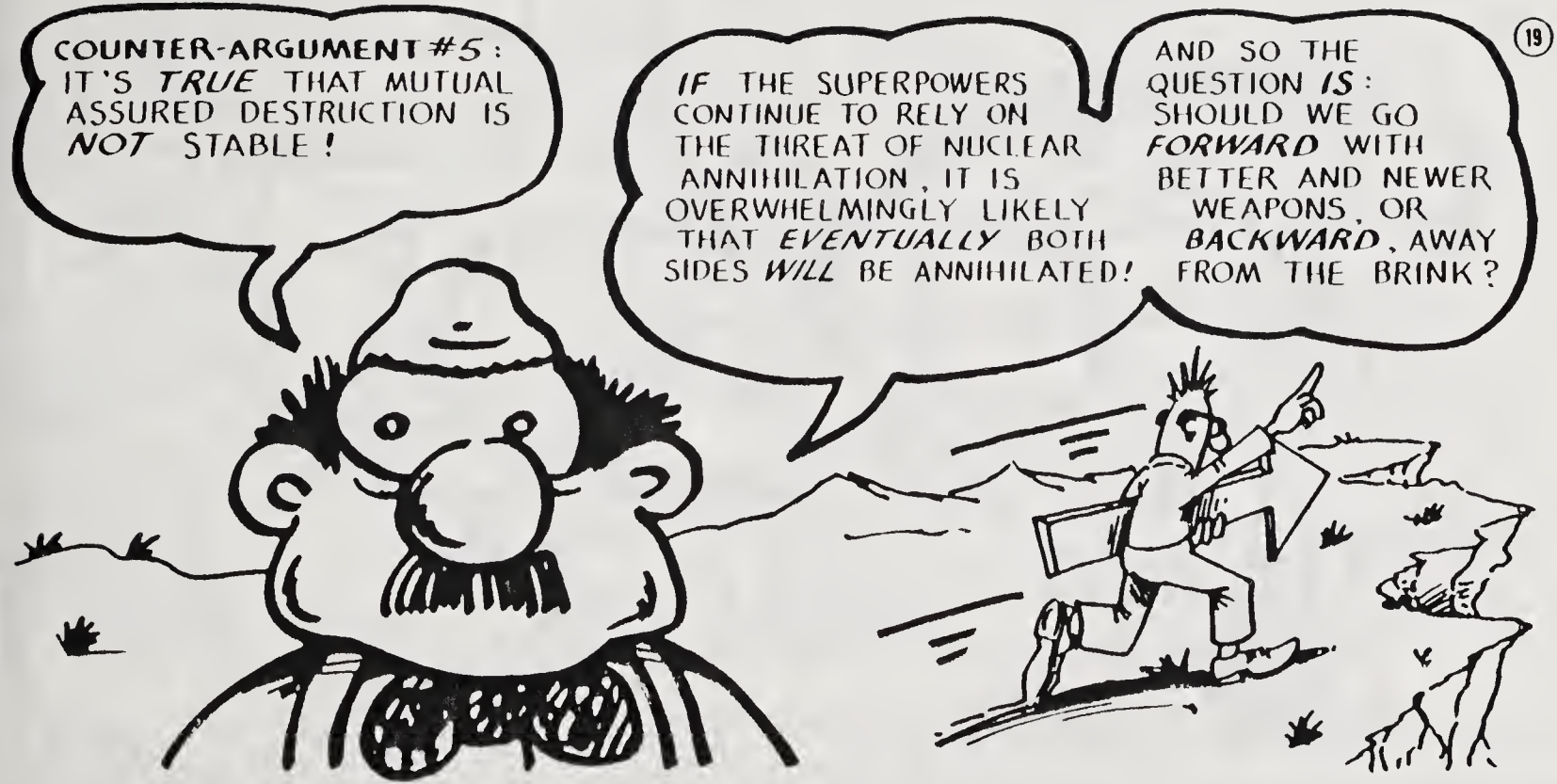

ARGUMENT #4: THE U.S. MUST HAVE SUPERIOR FORCES.
AMERICA AND THE SOVIET AGGRESSORS HAVING *EQUAL* FORCES WOULD BE AS BAD AS *COPS AND ROBBERS* HAVING EQUAL WEAPONS.
WITHOUT AMERICAN NUCLEAR *SUPERIORITY*, THE SOVIETS COULD RUN OVER EUROPE OR THE PERSIAN GULF LIKE A *STEAMROLLER*.
4


COUNTER-ARGUMENT #4: THE PROBLEM WITH DEFENDING EUROPE WITH "SUPERIOR NUCLEAR DEFENSES" IS THAT THE WEAPONS WOULD DESTROY EUROPE AND PULL THE U.S. INTO THE HOLOCAUST ALSO.
THE U.S. HAS SEEN ITSELF AS THE "POLICEMAN OF THE WORLD" BUT SOMETIMES IT LACKS PERSPECTIVE ON HOW ITS BEHAVIOR APPEARS TO OTHERS.
17
I AM A "COP" DEFENDING YOU FROM TERRORISM.
US
USA
DON'T SHOOT!!

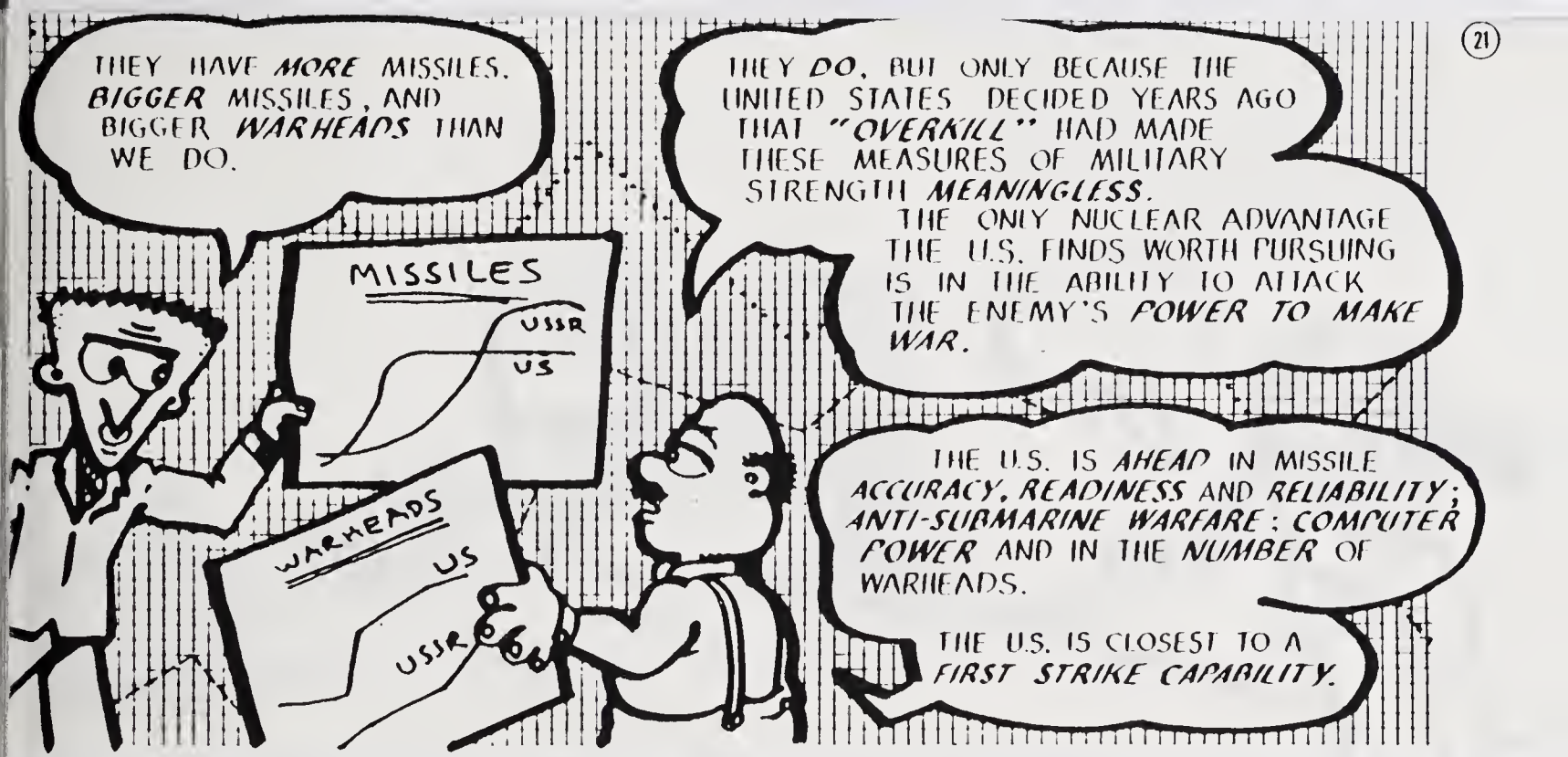
(18) ARGUMENT #5: MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION IS NOT STABLE.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT A TECHNOLOGICAL BREAKTHROUGH MIGHT BE FOUND WHICH WOULD ALLOW ONE SUPERPOWER TO ATTACK THE OTHER SO COMPLETELY THAT THERE COULD BE NO RETALIATORY STRIKE.

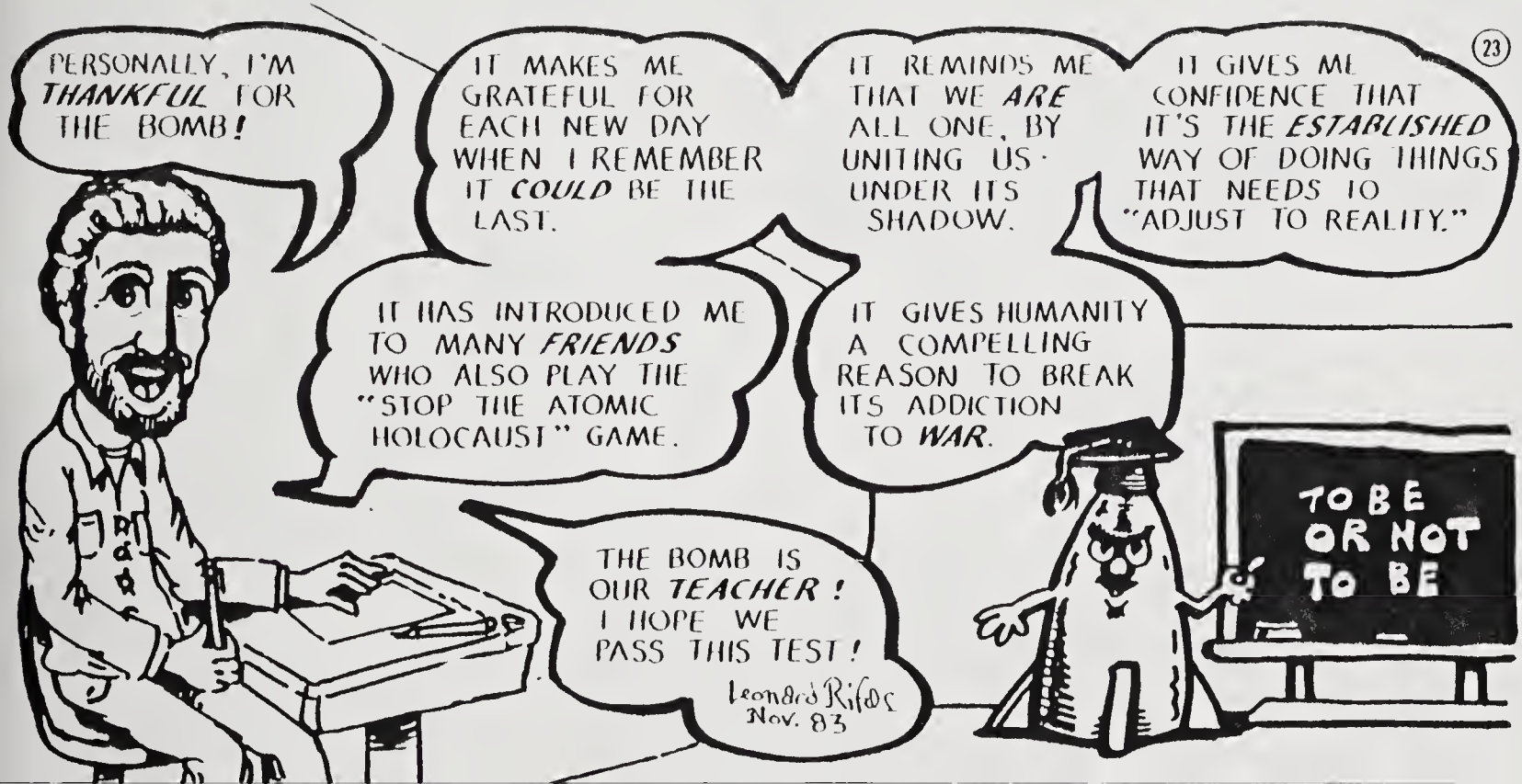
AS LONG AS THIS POSSIBILITY EXISTS, WE CAN NOT REST IN OUR RESEARCH EFFORTS. OR ELSE THE SOVIETS MIGHT ACHIEVE THIS ADVANTAGE *FIRST*.


COUNTER-ARGUMENT #5:
IT'S *TRUE* THAT MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION IS *NOT* STABLE!
IF THE SUPERPOWERS CONTINUE TO RELY ON THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION, IT IS OVERWHELMINGLY LIKELY THAT *EVENTUALLY* BOTH SIDES *WILL* BE ANNIHILATED!
AND SO THE QUESTION *IS*: SHOULD WE GO *FORWARD* WITH BETTER AND NEWER WEAPONS, OR *BACKWARD*, AWAY FROM THE BRINK?

BUT WE CAN'T STOP NOW!
THEY'RE AHEAD!!!


THEY HAVE *MORE* MISSILES. *BIGGER* MISSILES, AND BIGGER *WARHEADS* THAN WE DO.
MISSILES
USSR
US
WARHEADS
US
USSR
THEY *DO*, BUT ONLY BECAUSE THE UNITED STATES DECIDED YEARS AGO THAT *"OVERKILL"* HAD MADE THESE MEASURES OF MILITARY STRENGTH *MEANINGLESS*.
THE ONLY NUCLEAR ADVANTAGE THE U.S. FINDS WORTH PURSUING IS IN THE ABILITY TO ATTACK THE ENEMY'S *POWER TO MAKE WAR*.
THE U.S. IS *AHEAD* IN MISSILE *ACCURACY, READINESS* AND *RELIABILITY*; *ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE*; *COMPUTER POWER* AND IN THE *NUMBER* OF WARHEADS.
THE U.S. IS CLOSEST TO A *FIRST STRIKE CAPABILITY*.

THE DEBATE GOES ON AND ON, BUT WHERE DOES IT LEAVE US? WHEN FACED WITH THE HUGE AND COMPLEX THREAT OF A GLOBAL HOLOCAUST, MANY PEOPLE FEEL POWERLESS AND DEMORALIZED.


PERSONALLY, I'M *THANKFUL* FOR THE BOMB!
IT MAKES ME GRATEFUL FOR EACH NEW DAY WHEN I REMEMBER IT *COULD* BE THE LAST.
IT REMINDS ME THAT WE *ARE* ALL ONE, BY UNITING US UNDER ITS SHADOW.
IT GIVES ME CONFIDENCE THAT IT'S THE *ESTABLISHED* WAY OF DOING THINGS THAT NEEDS TO "ADJUST TO REALITY."
IT HAS INTRODUCED ME TO MANY *FRIENDS* WHO ALSO PLAY THE "STOP THE ATOMIC HOLOCAUST" GAME.
IT GIVES HUMANITY A COMPELLING REASON TO BREAK ITS ADDICTION TO *WAR*.
THE BOMB IS OUR *TEACHER*! I HOPE WE PASS THIS TEST!
Leonard Rifas Nov. 83
TO BE OR NOT TO BE

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